EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1856.

FOR PRESIDENT. JAMES BUCHANAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Subject to the decision of the National Convention.

THE LATE NEWS FROM NICARAGUA. Our readers will find in another column intelligence of a bloody fight between the Costa Ricans and Walker and his small but gallant army. They will see in the account which we give, acts of heroic valor and daring upon the mean to let the Sentinel outlive you? The tent, no more. And yet this is made the excuse part of the Liberals, that are not surpassed in the annals of warfare. The intrepid bearing of Lieutenant Colonel Sanders, particularly, will command the fervid admiration of all. It is worthy to be styled the Thermopylæ of the struggle. Although the conflict shed great lustre upon the arms of Walker's army, and neighbor as ourself-if you are sick we will although there was a decided advantage gained | come to you; we will sit by and comfort you; to them, yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that these gallant men are yet in a most critical position. With numbers greatly superior, and the encouragement which British sympathy, and possibly material aid, gives the Costa Ricans, we are not without apprehensions that the Nicaraguans may be overpowered. And yet, here is our stupid, cruel, imbecile and selfish Government, not only refusing to give to the Government of Nicaragua the legitimate prestige of its recognition, but absolutely are standing quietly by and seeing the British Government lavishing their sympathies and their arms and their ammunition upon the semi-barbarous Costa Ricans! Where is the Monroe doctrine? No where, but in the sentimental messages of our insignificant President! It is practically repudiated.

But not only are they unmoved in sympathy from the superior numbers of the invading sforces of Costa Rica-not only are they doing what a boy at school would be put in coventry for doing-standing by and seeing a larger impose upon a smaller boy-not only are they willing to see a great and powerful Government | party or of Democratic ideas. The campaign uniting to overthrow a youthful and struggling Republic upon our own continent-made up of test for the offices, or a struggle for power, for our own American flesh and blood-but, as if the mere sake of power. their atrocity at Washington were insatiable. they even are holding in limbo the very officers of Filibusterism! Nay, more, there are now in to leave the field of fight to return to the civil arena to answer charges against them, or forfeit their recognizances. Has stupidity no bounds? Has cruelty no limits?

Let the President of the United States give us a message, if nothing else-a sentimental message; one that will at least stir the blood of our brave young countrymen, even if he should cruisers, with their well manned small boats, to capture any unfortunate passenger, who may have lost his ticket, or who may have not had arrested and sent, God knows where-perhaps to Jamaica, where the climate would do not the work of his execution.

STARTLING RUMOR-TRIBUTE TO WHOM TRIBUTE IS DUE.

We have just heard a rumor, well authenticated, that Franklin Pierce will "decline the use of his name before the Cincinnati Convention, and that the announcement would be made public within sixty hours!"

We are not surprised at this, for we have always predicted that to this complexion it must come at last; but we did not suppose, candor bids us say, that his sense of returning reason would so soon as "sixty hours" dawn upon the American people.

We have never doubted that our efforts would be blessed, but we had supposed that they would not have been responded to in so short a space of time. What a gala day it will It wants only a trusty leader, one who combe when this great and beneficent event shall publicly transpire. Nor will it be an unfit occasion for the setting apart of a special day of he has never betrayed it—one who not only general thanksgiving, particularly with the presents in himself the immediate issues of Democracy of the Union! It matters not how unnecessary the declination of General Pierce, how innocent to the Democracy and the country. to lead the party onward into the meridian should be his remaining in the field, still it is a point in the game, and a good point too. True, it is somewhat stripped of its magnanimity and unselfishness, by the necessity which seemed to enforce this determination upon the present Executive.

In chronicling such an event, will not our readers allow us the privilege of taking some credit to ourself for our aid in bringing about so desirable a result? - Will the Democracy throughout the country permit us, with proper pride, to claim it as "in part our work?" And is it not a source of gratulation to know now that we will no longer forfeit Democratic conof the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention. We are now prepared to pledge our support to the passengers by the Persia. any man that convention may nominate. Let us, however, not withhold our timely warning there is no pleasure in this world without its brious. Let it whine!

alloy, and so it is in this case! Where will our faithful neighbor, the Washington Union, go? Whither will he fly? We had forgotten him. We mingle with our joy a tear for his sad end. He deserved a better fate! He surely desired more notice than "sixty hours!"

THE WASHINGTON UNION PINING OR, WHAT'S IN THE WIND. The Washington Union of Thursday comes

o us without editorial. Is our neighbor pining under the "sixty hour" rule, or has his nervous system received too severe a shock from Mr. Hunter's late spiteful resolution upon the constitutionality of "extra numbers to be printed" to enable him to put his pen to paper? Where is the "admirable Crichton," where the gay others of the editorial corps whose lucubrations have so often adorned the columns of the Union? Are they all paralized by the "sixtythis cannot be. But in sincerity, neighborfor the good book commands us to love our we will do all in our power to restore you; (indeed we could not do well without you just now)-besides, you have a future before you, a bright and glorious future; you shall not pine and die if we can save you. We have a sympathy for those who are deserted by their friends; "fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind." If you want editorial, we will share ours with you; we can easily spare, for charity's sake, three of our six columns. So, cheer up. If, however, all our efforts should fail-if the hand of death is really upon you, and may not be averted by human skill and kindness, we will help to lay you softly in your grave, mournfully muttering the beautiful sentiment-

> " All that's bright must fade; The brightest, still the fleetest!

PIERCE AS RETROGRADE AS FILL-MORE.

To those who have accurately studied the political history of the last three years, and who can separate the real from the false, it must be evident that this Administration has been no true representative of the Democratic of 1852 involved something more than a con-The administration of Mr. Fillmore, like all

administrations of the opposition party, was in of Walker, to stand their trial upon a charge antagonism with the genius of the people, and especially with the genius of the Democracy. the army of Walker, men who will either have It had no place in the popular heart; it did not reflect the popular will. The people longed for an administration which would respond to their sympathies, and their impulses, and they turned to the Democracy as the party whose sympathies and impulses were most in unison with theirs. The administration of Mr. Fillmore had been a mere fact, without a soul, without ideas, without life. An Administrarefuse them the gratification of their natural tion, truly to represent the popular feeling and impulses to fly to the rescue of those who are the Democratic sentiment of this country, must bone of their lone and flesh of their flesh. be not only a reality, it must be an idea realiz-Ay, give us a message that Congress ed. It is this desire which gave the Democracy ect directly brought to its at | such immense power in 1852, and prepared a tention. Drop the Cincinnati Convention for triumph so overwhelming and apparently dea little season, and turn at least a sympathising cisive. How have these hopes and aspirations look upon the fearful struggle of your former | been fulfilled? We assert that, so far from recountrymen. But what can they hope with alizing the ideal which the Democracy had Pierce and Cushing, with their blockading formed of a National and Democratic Adminis squadron, and District Attorney, with his posse | tration, that of Franklin Pierce has simply been overhauling every enterprising American whom a continuation of Fillmore's. One set of office they choose to suspect of a desire to expatriate | holders has been turned out to make room for himself, who do not consider this a sufficiently another; but the characteristics, if characterprecautionary measure, but they have on the stics there can be said to be, remain the same. other end of the line their allies, the British There is the same coldness, the same impassiveness, the same timidity, the same failure to respond to the great impulses of the popular heart. Not one of the issues for which we money enough to buy a through ticket, to be fought in '52 has been settled as the Democracy expected; not one of their aspirations has been fulfilled. There is no attraction between less surely, than a more summary punishment, this Administration and the Democratic Party; they repel each other, and, though comprehended in a common name, in heart they are at war. The consequences of this state of things were seen in the disorganization of the party. and the apathy it displayed till it was forced sides on new issues. Had it not been for the great struggle on the Nebraska question, and the intense pressure of Know-Nothingism, the Democratic Party would at this moment have presented the spectacle of a paralyzed, almost

> It has drawn its scattered forces together and prepared to enter on another conflict, in which its fundamental principles are involved. After a night of darkness and defeat the mands respect, because he is worthy of itone who is entitled to our confidence, because this struggle, but who is the impersonation of Democratic ideas-it wants only such a man blaze of victory. Should we again commit the folly of selecting Franklin Pierce, or one like Franklin Pierce, we should deserve to be addressed as Paul of Tarsus addressed the Romans: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

awakened the party to renewed life and vigor.

GOVERNMENT FUNDS.

According to the Treasurer's statement there was in the United States Treasury, on the 21st of April, \$24,885,073 91, nett amount subject to drafts.

Major Delafield, Major Mordecai, and Captain McClelland, the military officers defidence by making an exception to our support puted by the United States Government to visit the seat of war in the Crimea, are among

From the New York News, (Dickinfrom that man who may madly submit his son.)--"The Washington Union of the 23d shoulders to the folds of the mantle of this complains bitterly that President Pierce has President, not less declining than declined. given Mr. Buchanan and his friends 'no prov-We say to him beware! But this is glorious ocation for such treatment' as the Pennsylva- of the 16 Free States upon the 15 Slave States news, that will thrill the hearts of every true nian, Washington Sentinel, Harrisburg Patriot of the Union! It does mean to set the sections son of Democracy throughout the land. Let and Union, and New York Herald are bestow- in arms! It does mean to array man against all the earth rejoice! Hold! we had forgotten! ing upon Pierce. The whine is quite lugu-

The strictures of the Sentinel on the shortomings of the Executive, have had one effect; t has caused the unearthing of the many enemies to Mr. BUCHANAN, who, but for this open manifestation of their purpose, might in secret have done much mischief under the guise of neutrals. We are entirely satisfied that the inuendoes, doubts and evil suggestions which attend these self-appointed defenders of Mr. BUCHANAN, betray the purpose of these writers-wishing, yet afraid to strike, they seek through the Sentinel

to stab Mr. BUCHANAN. Is it anything new to criticise the course of a President? Do these journals pretend to defend the measures we condemn. Not at all? and fascinating Sophomere, where the dozen If they spoke at all it would be to condemn as we condemn. Has not the Sentinel been true to the Democratic rubric? Then what is the crime of the Sentinel? Neither more nor less hour" manifesto? Something is wrong; what than this-that the Sentinel condemns what is it? Speak up, neighbor; you surely don't they do not approve. Its offence bath this ex-Sentinel, whose demise has been predicted with for the immolation of Mr. Buchanan. Surely the confidence of an astrologer's readiness, is the motives of these parties are too transparent not to be a chief mourner at the funeral obse- to be misunderstood. They were the enemies quies of a great Government Organ! Oh, no! of Mr. Buchanan, and thought they could through this loop-hole let fly at him the envenomed shaft with impunity.

> What divinity doth so hedge round this Executive, that no mouth should dare speak the truth of it?

> This Executive can, with impunity, violate its feasance to the Democratic Party-disregard all tests, give absolution to all who oppose its test measures, and yet one word of comment against this destructive course brings on us, not on the evil-doer, the denunciations of those presses which have learned that thrift doth follow fawning. Why are not their thunders dirrected against him who has disabled the Democratic Party? Why is their artillery directed solely against him who holds this evil doer to an account?

> Which of all of General Pierce's good acts or good words have we not commended? Which of his words or acts which we have censured do these parties oppose? If we have opposed all they can commend, and have condemned only those they cannot approve, with what propriety do they charge us with wrong? What immunity inures to that Executive, that truth should be forbidden to speak. Do not these critics by their course render themselves justly liable as accomplices in all the errings

G. P. R. James, esq., her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the port of Norfolk, has eceived a despatch from Lord Clarendon, authorizing him, in the name of the British Government, to distribute £200 among the benevolent institutions in Norfolk and Portsmouth having charge of the destitute widows and orphans of those who died during the late epidemic.

From the New York Express. THE "REPUBLICAN PARTY"—COTTON

Already, there seem to be two factions in this new party,-the really "woolly" heads, and the cotton" heads,-the former being of the old Abolition school, and in earnest, and the latter only a sham,-to use local Abolitionism for local purposes only. Hence, from Pittsburgh, and from the Astor House mint in this city,we have what the real, bona fide Abolitionists call_only very milk and water propositions. atterly destitute of the famous backbone

The milk and water men, if we credit the Syracuse Journal, reside hereabout in this part of the State, and the Times and the Courier are their organs. The Times having said that

"There is no ground for attributing to the Republican party any purpose of hostility to "God for bid." exclaims a real live Republican n Syracuse, "that the Times should be author ized to make this declaration. I undertake to say that the Republicans are hostile to slavery the United States. The slaveholders so inderstand them, and they are not mistaken. The Republicans do purpose to curtail the power of slavery in this government, not only by realisting its extension into free territory, but by setting bounds to its influence at home. I hey would be recreant to their duty and preensions not to labor for this end. But for entertaining this very purpose, the Republican party would not be held together by a cobweb. Perhaps intelligence of this fact has not yet reached New York, and hence this inopportune attempt to misrepresent the character of its mission. But it must be remembered, that the commercial emporium is about the last place on the continent to which light penetrates. It into action by new foes and compelled to take is only after the "rural districts" have been some months or years in a blaze, that Gog and Magog begin to thaw."

I am not of the number that believes the Republican party deserves a character for conservatism," or is to be strengthened by a lifeless organization. Those great issues have plastering one upon its back. Conservatism is favorite theory with kings, nobles, cardinals and slaveholders. It is the enemy and bane of Freedom and Progress. I hate the word. Conservative Republicans!"-how does that Conservative Humbug! The idea that defines Conservatism is that which embraces the conservation, preservation, and perdawn of triumph just begins to light the skies. petuation of old abuses-old rights and privileges, which the few have monopolized and withheld from the participation of the many. Slavery finds a protection under the wings of That is not the meaning or the Conservation. plan of Republicanism. If it were, we should not see the South convulsed with terror at the unfolding of its banners to the breeze, and uniting as one man to oppose its success. And let it be understood that Republicanism intends nothing hostile or dangerous to the interests of Slavery and the party, instead of marching on to certain triumph over the Black Democracy, would crumble to pieces like a rope of sand. "I am afraid the Times has been prompted to this proceeding by the example of Gen. W. of the Courier & Enquirer, who writing home from Washington, not long since, undertook to clear Gov. Seward's skirts of all derogatory and injurious attachments, by endorsing him as one of the most 'conservative' of men. W. further volunteered to testify that nobody could more heartily regret than Gov. Seward himself, that he had ever introduced a bill into the Senate to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia! No doubt Gen. W. plumes himself apon having done Gov. Seward an immense service, and the Times, with equal satisfaction, conceives it has relieved the Republican party rom a damnable suspicion. In either cas Cotton' may rejoice to hear the news; but, let me ask, how many votes it will bring to

Hear that! "Men and Brethren." We re spect that Syracuse Republican. He tells the truth: Gog and Magog only sham. Republicanism, doubtless, does mean to make a war man,-and "war," "war," "war,"-to the knife, -is its watchword.

OF TENNESSEE, To his Constituents, on Political Parties His past course and future intentions.

We publish, with great pleasure, the manly, ust, and patriotic letter of this distinguished statesman. We commend it to our readers as the production of a gentleman who, in his private and public career, has won a renown for high honor and patriotism that we should be happy to see more generally emulated. "A few more such men would save the State."

TO MY CONSTITUENTS.

WASHINGTON, April, 8, 1856. Regarding it the duty of a public servant to confer fully and freely with his constituents touching all matters of public interest, I ad-dress you this letter. This duty becomes the more necessary at this time, from the anomalous condition of political parties, and the neces sity imposed upon me to respond to the inquiry so frequently addressed to me by my political friends, "What shall we do-or rather, what do you intend to do in the present complicated state of things?"

I shall not so far forget the relation I sustain to you as to presume to dictate to you what you should or should not do, I can only suggest what seems to me to be the course proper to be pursued, and to declare what it

purpose to do.

In addressing this letter, I intend to embrace my entire constituency, without distinction of party or name, because I have neither the right nor the disposition to separate myself from the obligation under which I feel to be the representative of the entire people of the State. But frankness requires me to say, that the necessity which imposes upon me this present duty, grows mainly out of the interest manifested by that portion of my constituents with whom have heretofore acted; and by whose agency was called to occupy the position I now hold, in knowing what course I shall pursue in the coming political contest.

It is my purpose to deal plainly and candidly with you; yet, in the strange and unprecedented revolution of things, I can scarcely hope to find that community of sentiment and feeling existing between myself and the party with whom I have heretofore acted, and to which I am indebted for all that I am as a public man, that has hitherto characterized our intercourse and guided our actions. Whilst this fear is a source of painful regret to me, yet, if should, in the fast approaching end of my official connection with you, hesitate to speak plainly and honestly, I should not only prove myself unworthy of all the honors you have onferred upon me, but also secure to myself convictions of merited contempt. It is well known to you all that I have been

ever since my entrance into public life, a Whig f the old school, taking the patriot sage of Ashland as my political exemplar—the star by which I was wont to be guided. In looking back through the long vista of the past, and calling to my aid all the advantages which an increase of years and experience are presumed to bring, I find nothing to regret in the adoption of that political creed. It commanded my approval, and by that chart I was content to steer my bark, amidst the storms and breakers by which it was surrounded.

The proclamation is being daily made three prominent and leading parties of the country, "that the Whig party is dead." This annunciation may be grateful to those who make it, but it brings no pleasure to my heart. believed in its principles, was ever ready to abide its fortunes; in its prosperity and triumphs rejoiced, in its misfortunes and defeats I wept. others can march with rude and careless step over its remains. I, for one must be excused from participating in any such strange unnatural vocation. I would rather bedew the sod under which it is said to repose, with tears grateful memory. Whether this declaration, so exultingly made,

be true or not, I shall not stop to enquire. It is enough (nay, more than enough for me) to know that this great party, which once commanded the affections of its followers and challenged the respect of its enemies, if not now dead, has fallen from its high and proud estate, and is now in disorder and confusi

By what agency this result was producedby whom this great wrong to the affections and sympathies of the living and the memories of he illustrious dead was done-it is not necessary that I should enquire; I only rejoice to know that no stain of the blood of the victim s to be found on my garments.

Public position always carries with it its reponsibilities, and the obligation of fidelity to hose from whom we receive them is either expressed or implied. The position I now hold has brought its responsibilities, and I acknowledge ts obligations. The questions submitted to me daily, almost hourly-Why stand weeping over the grave of your buried political affect ions?-why not join the American or Demo ratic party?-I am ready to answer ;-because do not agree with either of them, and because he obligation I assumed in accepting the position I hold contemplated no such result.

I was elected to the United States Senate as a Whig, committed to the support of Whig principles and Whig men, and I have ever felt myself bound, by every consideration of duty and honor, to vindicate and sustain them in my official position. I have endeavored faithfully o redeem the pledge thus given, and I trust shall be faithful to the end. Soon I shall return my commission to those from whom I received it, and I trust in God no stain of dishono or unfaithfulness will attach to it.

Thus much for the past. Let us turn to

present and the future. With feelings such as I entertain, and have ndeavored to present under ordinary circumstances, when no great public interest was at stake, I should be inclined to take no part in the contest but would content myself with the quietude and retirement of private life. But der the circumstances that surround usamidst the dangers that threaten not only the peace and happiness of the country, but even the integrity of the Constitution and the sta-bility of the Union—no patriot can feel indiferent, no patriot has a right to fold his arms and refuse to do all he can to arrest such evils. I cannot be a silent or indifferent spectator of scenes fraught with such momentous consequences to all that is held most dear to the

over of constitutional liberty. It cannot have escaped the observation of he most casual that a state of things exists at this time wholly unprecedented in the history of parties. Obtuse, indeed, must be the man who does not read, in the signs of the times, langers most imminent to the perpetuity of the ountry. Circumstances seem to be combining logether, which, if not arrested, must eventual y end in the overthrow of this fair fabric of human liberty. To avert a calamity so full of all that is fearful, so full of an utter overthrow of all the hopes of the lovers of freedom throughout the world, the best energies of the wise, the good, and the patriotic, are invoked.

In order fully to appreciate the difficulties and dangers that surround us, it is necessary to look at things as they are. And he who, through indifference or the bias of party prejudice, refuses to make this examination, betrays a disregard of his highest interests, that can find no palliation in the requirements of duty

What is the condition of parties at this time. and what is likely to be the result of the anproaching presidential election?

You may not have given to this importan question much serious consideration, and may You may flatter yourselves that all is well If this be your condition, I would dispel the de-

are now presented to the country.

As before stated, there are three prominen parties in the country, each of which, it is cer-tain, will present their candidate for President and Vice President. The American party has already given us the names of their candidates. Soon, the Democratic and (so-called) Republican parties are to hold conventions to present the names of their candidates. With three candidates in the field is it at all certain that an election can be effected by the people? There is no such certainty; but there are many well grounded fears that an election by the will be defeated, and that the House of sentatives will be the tribunal before which this creat question must be tried and decided. With he late protracted contest in that body for the election of Speaker, and its results before us, it cannot be that any sane man who desires to protect the rights of the South can wish, or would be willing, to see our rights submitted o such an arbitrament, or the permanency of he Union exposed to so severe a test. But, should an election be obtained before the people, which of these parties is most likely to succeed? In order to form something like a correct, enlightened judgment on this-subject, it s proposed to inquire what is to be the nature of this contest? By what circumstances is it to be surrounded, and what questions are to be settled by it? May I ask what issues are to be nvolved in this contest? Is it a bank, tariff, distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, internal improvements, the acquisition of more territory? Is it the annunciation of the Monroe doctrine, as proclaiming our foreign policy? Is it any one, or all of these? No, not one of hem all is spoken of as the issue upon which this great battle is to be fought. Indeed, important as some of these are, they seem scarcey to be thought of or cared for. The only issue of a practical, political, or legislative character, (as far as I understand it,) presented by the American party, is an amendme abrogation of the naturalization laws. That Americans shall rule America-that natives have rights superior to foreigners—are presentd as arguments or adjuncts. I do not propose to debate this question.

will, however, say, that I should not object to prudent, patriotic amendment of the natural-

zation laws.

What is tendered by the falsely-styled Repubican party, standing out in bold relief, em-plazoned on their banners in glaring capitals, s opposition to slavery. This is presented in all the varied shapes and forms, suited to the tastes and caprices of all; but at last all these principles concenter in the one idea of opposition to slavery, or the prostration of what they please to denominate the slave power. are, or say they would be, content with the repeal of the fugitive slave law; others demand he abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; some, that the slave trade, as between the States, shall be interdicted that no more slave States shall be admitted into the Union; others, that Congress shall prohibit the intro

duction of slavery into the Territories—that slavery shall be abolished everywhere. But all these factions are to be harmonized; all these shades of opinion are to be reconciled and the battle is to be fought on the Kansas and Nebraska act; this is to be probably the sole and only plank in their platform; and they propose to accomplish their purposes by attacking us in detail, and, if they can succeed in carrying the outposts by attacking one of them at a time, then the citadel, which is slavery in the States, must soon capitulate. 'Tis thus

they reason. What issue or issues the Democratic party will present, or whether they will be content simply to accept those tendered by the other parties, I am not advised. Only one thing in this connection is certain, and that is, they cannot refuse to accept the issue presented by he Black Republican party; they claim the paternity of the Kansas Nebraska bill, and must, and will, I doubt not, defend it to the

In this brief review of the attitude of parties it is obvious that the Abolition party—the opponents of slavery of every hue, shape, and to be harmonized on the one idea and purpose of the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska act, or the re-establishment of the prohibition of slavery in these Territories This is what they call the Malakoff; if this falls, then a surrender on our part, and the taking of Sebastopol. It may be hat they reckon without their host.

Whatever may be suid of the treason that guides and animates this party, we cannot withhold our admiration of the bold, manly, and defiant manner in which they proclaim their ourposes, and challenge us to the conflict. Can we with safety or honor decline the invitation thus boldly given? In my judgment, we cannot. The issue is fairly made, and it must be met. There can be, ought to be, no evasion. Let us, then, in a corresponding spirit of promptness and boldness, meet them the field they have selected; and this we are canstrained to do, unless we have made up our minds to capitulate and surrendr ourselves these usurpers. If we are ready for this, hen the battle is already fought, and our disgrace and degradation are full and complete, and we are only fit to be slaves. I repeat-the issue is fairly made, boldly tendered, and must be met. The question, the great vital question of the equality of the States and their rights ander the Constitution, are involved and must be maintained, or the Union is dissolved. This question must be settled, this battle has to be ought sooner or later. Efforts have been made from time to time

by the wise, the good, and the patriotic, to evert this necessity. Compromises, delays, and postponements have been resorted to, with what success let history teach. These patriotic efforts have served as narcotics-quieting the nerves, but not removing the disease-they have served to allay the angry and aggressive passions of the enemies of slavery for a season, and to lull the friends of the Constitution inte the dream of a delusive security. Experience shows how impotent such efforts have been, and must ever be, to bring permanent repose

to the country. We want no other compromises than such as the Constitution gives. For one, I shall be satisfied with nothing less. The temporizing expedients, however patriotically intended have heretofore served only to enable the enemies of the South to recuperate their weak ened energies and replenish their magazines, in order that they may return to the conflict with increased vigor and accumulated strength. The quiet it gives is only the calm that precedes the storm. No considerate man can doubt but that this question-if we are to remain as one people-must be settled, and that speedily. We cannot postpone it long if we would, and ought not if we could. An evasive olicy, a temporizing course, the administrapolitical nostrums, instead of soothing the fevered brain of fanaticism, seem but to madden them and render their hatred of our institutions more violent and implacable.

What has the South to gain by postponing this settlement? Shall we be stronger next year than this, or will they be weaker then than Confederacy. In a few years, six or eight more thus further diminishing the equilibrium bepower of the one, and consequently diminish-

g that of the other. I know the over-cautions and timid still inthat there is no danger to be apprehended. firm, immovable conviction that a determined, to disappointment, what then remains to be for this be your condition, I would dispel the delusion which, if persisted in, I fear may prove settled, now furnishes the best, if not the only I seek to dictate to no one, for I am not willing fatal. In order to accomplish this, I beg your hope of accomplishing it, that I protest against that any shall dictate to me.

THE SENTINEL AND THE ENEMIES LETTER OF HON. JAMES C. JONES, attention to a short statement of facts as they any further evasion of the question, and counsel a bold, prompt, and manly acceptance of the issue tendered.

nothing to gain by delay. All we get is increased strength on their part, coupled with arrogance, insult, or injury. Let me illustrate this position further. this position further. A proposition was made in the Senate in 1852 to repeal the fugitive slave law. This proposition received only four votes. Again the proposition was renewed in 1855, and it received nine votes; and I am informed by the most reliable authority that it can now command fifteen votes in that body; and from the same reliable source I learn that a majority of the House of Representatives are in favor of a repeal of this law; and if they do not pass an act repealing it in that body, it will not be because they have not the power and the will to do so, but because they doubt its expediency. What an alarming increase is here seen, and what a striking commentary the policy and wisdom of further postponen A few years since there was in the House of Representatives a little squad of Abolitionists,

compromising enemies of slavery anywhere to Are we to gain nothing from experience Shall we shut our eyes and close our ears for fear we may hear the distant thunder or see the flashing lightning that presages the gath ering and coming storm? If we are not able to assert and maintain our rights now, when, tell me, when shall we be?

To you, who have known me always, and be

so small in numbers, so insignificant in talent,

as to excite scarcely any other feeling than that

fore whom my antecedents are, I need not re peat protestations of my devotion to the Union; but frankness compels me to say, unless this constant war of aggression, this incessant war of insult and injury, can be arrested, the preservation of this Union is a hopeless fancyan idle delusion. And you must allow me to say, with equal frankness and deep regret, that inless this war should cease—unless the rights secured to us by the Constitution shall be respected; unless our property can be secured from robbery and confiscation; unless our honors and our feelings shall be respected; unless we are permitted to hold our places in he Union on the terms of equality as prescribed by the Constitution-without degrada tion; unless we can live together in peace and quiet, as did our fathers—if these things cannot be accorded to us, then the sooner we separate the better. We can never consent to retain these political relationships at the expense of honor or the surrender of our rights. hold it at such a price would cover us with a mantle of infamy; and the spirits of our fathers would rise up in judgment to condemn the degeneracy of their sons. Can we lend ourselves such prostitution? Never, never, never!

Some may suppose I have drawn this picture too strongly—that it is not so dark as I present it. Be not deceived. The secret puroses and machinations of your enemies are out merely sketched. The inquiry doubtless presents itself to your mind, Is there no escape rom these apprehended evils? Is there no way of arresting results so fearful, on which we seem to be driving with terrible and in-creasing velocity? I hope there is; and it is this hope that bids me warn you of the danger, in order that you may apply the remedy. Our opponents will present one unbroke

front. Already their ranks are being marshaled for the fray. All other dissensions are to be hushed. All discord is to be banished. All differences of opinion are to be waived. They are to stand, as one man, on one isolate point, Down with slavery!

Successfully to meet and resist this united, combined effort of our enemies, there must be a corresponding effort on our part. We must have the same union; the same surrender of our prejudices; the same waiver of opinion on natters of minor importance. We must stand together for the Constitution and the Union; for in this, and in this alone, is there safety.

Appearances, I grant, are full of discourage

ment: but, amidst all the surrounding there is a star of hope to cheer the heart of the patriot, bidding him "hope on, hope ever.' I am opposed to any political geographical line. I deprecate all issues of a purely sec tional character, and I despise all sectional parties; and it is in order to crush out all such parties that I would exhort all national conservative, Constitution-abiding, Union-loving men, of all parties to unite together for the purpose of arresting the further progress of his party, seeking to advance its fortunes at the expense of the peace of the country, and the safety of the Union, by advocating a quesion purely and essentially sectional. I do not look to the South alone to accomplish this work. Unaided by the conservative men of the North, we are wholly inadequate to the task. If the entire people of the non-slaveholding States are to be regarded as inimical to our rights and institutions, then any further hope of pacification, any further struggle for harmony, and a recognition of our rights, is vain and useless. I am happy, however, to know that such is not the case. truest, boldest, and most fearless defenders of he constitutional rights of the South are to be found in the free States. I have seen them throw themselves in the breach, in defence of our rights, with a promptness, gallantry, and manliness that challenged the admiration, and night justly excite the emulation, of the most chivalrous son of the South. Many Whigs, Democrats, and Americans at the North are as loval to the Constitution and all its guarantees as are the men of the South; and if all these conservatives would be united, (and why may they not?) they, I doubt not, would constitute a majority in many of the free States.

In this condition of things, why, I ask, should not the South, which has so much at stake, and for the rights of which these gallant men of the North have contended so faithfully, abandon all its bickerings, petty strifes, and party prejudices, and stand together for the Const. tation and the Union. Thus united in defence of a common interest, and in resistance to common wrongs, we might, with hope and confidence, appeal to the conservative men of the North to come to the rescue. Such an appea know would not be unavailing or unhee But, divided as we are, intestine war raging amongst us with wildest fury, with what sort of confidence can we ask our friends of the free States to lend us there aid? The course being oursued by the South in this critical juncture affairs is, in my judgment, the consumma ion of folly and madness. What is there in the creeds of the Demo

ratic, American, or Whig party that can weigh for a moment in the scales against the integrity of the Union? What question, cherished by either of them, that they are not ready to postpone or abandon, for the sake of the Union? I ask no man to abandon his principles, but I do ask all men who love the Constitution to waive their opinions on minor and unimportant questions, for the graver and more vital one, the preservation of the country. I am not a member of the American or Demo now? New States are soon to be added to the cratic parties, and, however much I may differ from them on some subjects, yet I am ready States may be expected to be admitted into the to unite with them in this great, and I hope Union-most, if not all, of them free States- last, struggle for the assertion and mainte ance of our rights. If such an union as this tween the free and slave States, increasing the could be effected, the battle would have been already fought, the victory won, and the disturbers of peace, these enemies of the Consti-tution and the country, would be sent howling sist upon a further postponement, saying, "Put off the evil hour as long as you can." Is there they came. Can a consummation so devoutly any safety in this? I seek to preserve this Union. There are no means compatible with justice and honor to which I would not resort to accomplish such a result; and it is from a. If this hope, so ardently cherished, is doomed

I do not advise the running of a Whig can didate for the Presidency—we could not hope to succeed—it would only complicate our difficul

of communion with that little band who have stood fast by their guns-have never hauled down their colors amidst the general desola tion that has swept over our once strong an always gallant party. It is to this little band always fearless and faithful, that I would ad dress a few words in the fulness of affection Though small in numbers, yet our responsibility ties are great. Although we may not have any gallant captain of our own chosing, as was on fortune in other days, one whose voice was ever heard above the battle's din, one whose while plume was ever seen waiving proudly in the thickest of the fight, cheering the hearts of his followers; though they only live in the holiest memories of our hearts, yet let us not forgetwe will never forget-that we have a country They may rob us of much, but our country re mains to us. We will never surrender it ex cept in death. It is for us to determine wha duty requires at our hands, and when the path is once seen, I know you will tread it with firm, of pity or contempt. Now we see them able to elect a presiding officer—the third officer unfaltering step. Unable of ourselves to elecunder the Government-one of the most una candidate of our own choice, still the privi lege remains to us to choose for ourselve: mong the candidates that may be presented to the country.

Left, as I am, to decide for myself what I

ought to do in view of all the difficulties that ie in my way, fully impressed with the respon sibility that rests upon me, I have calmly sur veyed the whole ground, and my judgment is deliberately formed. I shall stand where I am just as I am, and wait the coming of future de elopments. We have before us the names of the candidates of the American party and their principles. I shall wait and see who the Den ocratic party will present to us, and what princi ples they proclaim. When the candidates are all before us, I will cast my vote for that man and with that party which I think mos likely to protect the Constitution, preserve the Union, and drive back the horde vandals who seek to usurp our rights, and final ly to possess themselves of the citadel of liberty. For the present I have but one political am bition, but one active, absorbing, politica principle; ambitious to be an humble agent in preserving our rights, protecting our honors and forever crushing out and annihilating these disturbers of the peace, invaders of our rights and traitors to the Constitution; to be one the humblest in the accomplishment of this, all I ask-it would be glory enough for me.

You may ask, are you going to join the American party? I answer, no. Are you going to join the Democratic party? Again answer, no. I am going for the country If I am satisfied that the American party can best preserve the honor of the country, and protect our rights, however much I may depre cate their course, I shall vote with them. If shall believe the Democrats best able to achieve these great ends, notwithstanding the many scars I bear on my person, received at thei hands, they shall have my vote.

This is my position. Let me see the men and what they propose, I shall then judge for myself what duty requires me to do—take my position fearlessly, and stand by it faithfully. have endeavored, thus briefly and candidly o present to you my impressions of the dar gers that threaten you. I have felt constrained to give you this warning; it may be, as others have been, unheeded. If so, I shall regret it; but I shall have the consciousness of having

endeavored to discharge my duty. In view of all that has transpired, and i daily transpiring, the greatly increased and constantly increasing strength and arrogance of the Abolition party, all their bitter malig nant denunciation of southern rights and southern men, from the press, the hustings, and the pulpit, in Congress and out of it if, in view of all these things, all these facts and warnings, the South cannot be aroused to a sense of its danger, then I despair of anything breaking the fatal slumber in which they pose, until the bell from this Ca the funeral knell of the Union. When this

terrible sound shall arouse you from your long fatal sleep, your waking will be too late. My task is done, my duty performed, the issue is in your hands; for myself, I have but

little to hope for or expect, and thank God I have nothing to fear. JAMES C. JONES.

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